

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 07629 131541Z  
ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0409  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 07629

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: RU, UR, US, PEPR  
SUBJECT: MOSCOW PERSPECTIVE ON ROMANIAN FOREIGN POLICY

REF: (A) BUCHAREST 1993, (B) STATE 087032

1. EMBASSY FOUND REF A A STIMULATING REVIEW OF ROMANIA'S POSITION IN THE WORLD WITH MANY VALID REASONS WHY THE U.S. SHOULD SEEK TO ENHANCE THAT ROLE. WE WOULD ENDORSE THIS ASPECT, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME SUGGESTING THAT FROM MOSCOW, THE LENGTH OF CEAUSESCU'S LEASH SEEMS MUCH SHORTER THAN IT APPEARS IN BUCHAREST. THUS, WE WILL DEAL IN OUR COMMENTS WITH ONLY TWO MAJOR THEMES SUGGESTED BY REF A, THAT OF ROMANIA'S POSITION IN THE WORLD AS VIEWED BY THE SOVIET LEADERS AND THE LIMITS OF SOVIET PATIENCE WITH CEAUSESCU.

2. WE SUSPECT THAT THE SOVIET LEADERS WOULD BE SURPRISED AND MORE THAN SOMEWHAT DISTURBED BY REF A'S DESCRIPTIONS OF CEAUSESCU AS "A REGIONAL LEADER IN THE BALKANS, . . . A PARTNER FOR THE UNITED STATES, . . . A MEDIATOR," AND AS A LEADER OF A COUNTRY ENJOYING "SUBSTANTIAL FOREIGN POLICY INDEPENDENCE." THE SOVIETS HAVE HAD A GREAT DEAL OF DIFFICULTY ADJUSTING TO ROMANIAN  
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EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH ITS OWN FOREIGN POLICY IDENTIFICATION. MOSCOW, NEVERTHELESS, BY NOW APPEARS SATISFIED THAT IT HAS REACHED SOMETHING OF A TACIT UNDERSTANDING WITH BUCHAREST ON THE LIMITS TO THIS INDEPENDENCE. IN THE SOVIET VIEW, ROMANIA IS A NUISANCE BUT NOT A REAL THREAT TO MOSCOW'S FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES IN EASTERN EUROPE OR ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD.

3. ROMANIA HAS BEEN VERY SKILLFUL IN DETACHING ITSELF FROM FIRM SOVIET CONTROL IN FOREIGN POLICY AND HAS MARKED OUT FOR ITSELF CERTAIN POSITIONS OF INDEPENDENCE IN AREAS AND TO LIMITS WHERE THE SOVIETS DO NOT CONSIDER THEIR VITAL INTERESTS ARE AT STAKE. THUS, IN RECEIVING U.S. AND CHINESE (OR ARAB AND ISRAELI) DELEGATIONS, ROMANIA CAN ARGUE THAT IT IS MERELY PURSUING A STATE-TO-STATE POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND IS APPLYING LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF FOREIGN POLICY. BY NOW THE SOVIETS HAVE LEARNED TO LIVE WITH THESE ACTIVITIES, LARGELY BECAUSE THEY DO NOT JEOPARDIZE SOVIET VITAL INTERESTS, AND ON OCCASION THEY ARE EVEN USEFUL.

4. IT IS CLEAR, AT THE SAME TIME, THAT BOTH MOSCOW AND BUCHAREST HAVE REACHED A MODUS VIVENDI AND A DEFINITION OF THE LIMITS OF SOVIET TOLERANCE. WHILE WE CAN ONLY GUESS AT THIS DEFINITION, WE CAN BE CERTAIN THAT THE ROMANIANS ARE CONSCIOUS OF IT IN THEIR DEALINGS WITH US AND WILL BE CAREFUL TO RESTRICT THEIR EXPRESSIONS OF UNITY OF VIEWS WITH US ACCORDINGLY. THUS, IF WE HAVE A QUIBBLE WITH REF A IT IS THAT IT MAY HAVE SUGGESTED A BROADER AREA OF U.S.-ROMANIAN COMMUNITY OF VIEWS AND INTERESTS THAN SOVIET TOLERANCE (AND ROMANIAN UNDERSTANDING OF THAT TOLERANCE) WILL ALLOW. MOSCOW DOES HAVE INSTRUMENTS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE AND

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ROMANIA HAS TO LIVE WITH THE FACTS OF POWER AND GEOGRAPHY. THUS, FROM EMBASSY MOSCOW'S PERSPECTIVES, IT APPEARS PRUDENT NOT TO ANTICIPATE A WEAKENING OF SOVIET PRESSURE ON BUCHAREST AND NOT TO LOOK TO ROMANIA TO PLAY A ROLE IN U.S. EASTERN EUROPEAN POLICY WHICH WILL EVOKE SOVIET DEEP CONCERN AND FURTHER PRESSURE.

5. THERE ARE IN THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL POSITIONS OF YUGOSLAVIA ADVANTAGES WHICH TITO AND HIS SUCCESSORS HAVE, WHICH CEAUSESCU LACKS, AND WHICH HIS PERSONAL DESIRES AND INITIATIVES WILL NOT, IN OUR VIEW, BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE. THIS BEING THE CASE, WE THINK CEAUSESCU WILL FIND IT IN HIS INTERESTS TO KEEP YUGOSLAVIA OUT FRONT EVEN AFTER TITO AND TO REMAIN IN THE YUGOSLAV POLITICAL SHADE, RATHER THAN TO PLACE HIMSELF IN THE FOREFRONT. THIS SUGGESTS THAT THE IMMEDIATE POST-TITO PERIOD MAY BE POTENTIALLY ONE OF INCREASED DIFFICULTY FOR CEAUSESCU, NOT ONE OF INCREASED OPPORTUNITY. IF THE TITO SUCCESSION "CRISIS" IS SUCCESSFULLY RANSITTED BY THE YUGOSLAVS AND AN AUTHORITATIVE FIGURE SUCCEEDS TITO, CEAUSESCU WILL BE BETTER ABLE TO PRACTICE HIS SPECIAL BRAND OF INDEPENDENCE.

IF TITO S "INTERNATIONAL SUCCESSION IS STILL UP FOR  
GRABS," CEAUSESCU AND THE U.S. MAY BE BETTER OFF IF  
CEAUSESCU RESTRAINS HIMSELF AND INSTEAD WORKS AND HOPES  
FOR SOME YUGOSLAV TO GRASP THAT PARTICULAR GOLDEN RING.  
TOON

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## Message Attributes

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